

SECRET/EXDIS

nm
SALT TWO
SESSION I
A-82

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION
U.S. SALT DELEGATION
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

DATE: December 13, 1972

TIME: 10:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.

PLACE: US/USSR Missions

SUBJECT: Work Program and Communique

PARTICIPANTS: US

USSR

Dr. Raymond L. Garthoff

Mr. O. A. Grinevsky

I reported that the US Delegation was prepared to agree to the general draft Work Program as we had developed it on the preceding day. As for the unagreed formulation in Point 1, we were now prepared to agree to the words "an agreement on more complete measures limiting strategic offensive arms". On Point 5, however, after further careful consideration the US Delegation believed that the formulation should remain "possibilities regarding the exercise of restraint".

Grinevsky thought that the formulation for Point 1 would be acceptable to his Delegation, and he would check and let me know promptly. He expressed considerable concern over Point 5, noting that I was repeating the earlier US proposal, although we had worked out a compromise which his Delegation understood was acceptable to the US Delegation.

I argued that logically the first and most direct task was to consider whether there were possibilities, and what they might be. Also, the word "understandings" might exclude some possibilities. Grinevsky said that his Delegation had considered this carefully in thinking about the item earlier, and in the Soviet understanding of the term "understandings" would not exclude anything, and would cover the full gamut of possible arrangements, including mutual example or inclusion in a treaty. He asked whether it might not be possible to combine the two approaches and speak of "possibilities of understandings".

SECRET/EXDIS

State Department review

SECRET/EXDIS

2


I said that I thought the substance of that wording was not different from the one word "possibilitics", which was simpler and clearer in English. However, I would check with my Delegation to see whether the phrase "possibilities of understandings" would be acceptable. I reminded Grinevsky that, in any case, our position with respect to Point 5 was not only ad referendum but concerned something on which the Delegation did not have instructions.

I later advised Grinevsky of the acceptability to our Delegation of "possibilities of understandings" in Point 5, and Grinevsky confirmed his Delegation's agreement to the formulations we had worked out both for Point 1 and Point 5. On this basis, we agreed that there was now ad referendum agreement on a draft Program of Work which would now be submitted to capitals.

Grinevsky later called to advise his Delegation's preference for including the formulation now agreed for Point 1 of the Work Program also in the Communique. I checked and later advised Grinevsky that this was acceptable to the US Delegation.

Attachments:

- (A) Draft Program of Work
- (B) Draft Communique


SALDEL/EXO:RLGarthoff/res
December 13, 1972

SECRET/EXDIS

Attachment A

SECRET

Ad Referendum

PROGRAM OF WORK FOR THE NEXT STAGE OF SALT NEGOTIATIONS

1. Consideration of the composition of strategic offensive arms to be included in an agreement on more complete measures limiting strategic offensive arms.
2. Consideration of modes of limiting strategic offensive arms; of questions relating to substitution; and of reductions.
3. Consideration of other limitations on strategic offensive arms, including prohibition of certain types of strategic offensive arms.
4. Consideration of other measures related to the agreement limiting strategic offensive arms.
5. Consideration of possibilities of understandings regarding the exercise of restraint.

In agreeing to discuss the questions listed above, neither side is thereby committed to the inclusion of any item in an agreement, either individually or in combination with others. In the subsequent negotiations, each side may raise matters related to the subject of the talks, whether or not listed in the program.

SECRET

SECRET

2

The order of listing of items does not pre-determine the order of their discussion.

This Program of Work shall not be released for publication.

SECRET

SECRET

Attachment B

Ad Referendum

COMMUNIQUE
On the Negotiations of the Delegations of
the US and the USSR
on Limiting Strategic Arms

The US-USSR negotiations on limiting strategic arms continued from November 21, 1972, to December 21, 1972, in Geneva.

The US Delegation was headed by the Director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Gerard Smith. Members of the Delegation Philip J. Farley, Paul Nitze, Harold Brown and Royal Allison participated in the negotiations.

The USSR Delegation was headed by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, V. S. Semenov. Members of the Delegation K. A. Trusov, P. S. Pleshakov, A. N. Shchukin, and O. A. Grinevsky participated in the negotiations.

The Delegations were accompanied by advisors and experts.

In accordance with the agreement reached in May, 1972, between the Governments of the US and the USSR to continue active negotiations for the limitation of strategic offensive arms, the Delegations engaged in further consideration of the issues relating to achieving an agreement on more complete measures limiting strategic offensive arms.

SECRET

SECRET

2

During the course of these preliminary discussions a wide range of questions relating to this matter were considered. The discussion was useful for both sides in preparing for further negotiations next year. An understanding was reached on the general range of questions which will be the subject of further US - Soviet discussions.

During the negotiations, agreement was reached on a Memorandum of Understanding establishing a Standing Consultative Commission pursuant to Article XIII of the Treaty Between the US and the USSR on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems. The Memorandum of Understanding was signed today by the Heads of the two Delegations on behalf of their respective Governments.

The two sides express their appreciation to the Government of Switzerland for creating favorable conditions for holding the negotiations. They are grateful for the warm hospitality which was extended to them.

Agreement was reached that negotiations between the US Delegation and the USSR Delegation will be resumed on February 27, 1973, in Geneva.

December 21, 1972

Geneva

SECRET